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ABSTRACT

This report discusses the capabilities of a computer program called the Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System (DMADS) which was developed to make it possible to manipulate and analyze data from the U.S. census. At the present time the DMADS can be used to generate statistical data and maps of the seven county Detroit area. DMADS contains 2500 items of information, or variables, for each census tract. Some of the information stored in DMADS are ethnic data. These data describe the housing and economic and social characteristics of each tract. Other kinds of ethnic information contained in the system include country of origin of the various groups and mother tongue data. Information on numbers of people of Spanish origin and data on year of immigration can also be obtained from DMADS. The computer can manipulate the variables statistically (but not cross-tabulate them) and combine them to form new variables and map them at various scales. Other topics discussed in the document are limitations of the census data and how the public can access the DMADS. Examples of contour maps from DMADS accompanied by interpretive notes are included in this document. (Author/RM)

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ETHNIC DETROIT IN MAPS: 1970

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PREFACE

This report was prepared by Carol Agocs, James Anderson, Paul Gauche, and Bryan Thompson of the Ethnic Studies Division of Wayne State University's Center for Urban Studies. The Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System (DMADS)-- the computer program and data system upon which the analysis and mapping are based -- was developed by Anderson. The statistical tables and the text of the report were prepared by Agocs. Gauche and Thompson contributed the first draft of part 1, "Ethnic Data from the Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System." The design of the report and the liaison with the Ethnic Studies Division by Paul Travalini of South East Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Center. The report is jointly published by the Center for Urban Studies and the South East Michigan Regional Ethnic Heritage Studies Center, which is using it as a resource for ethnic studies teachers at all levels of the educational system in the Detroit area.

The work of Anderson, Agocs and Thompson on the mapping and census analysis of the ethnic structure of the Detroit area began in the summer of 1973, when they received awards as part of the Urban and Environmental Faculty Research program of the Center for Urban Studies. Additional computer funds provided by the Center the following spring furthered the work. Since the opening of the Ethnic Studies Division in the fall of 1974, the Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System has been housed in the Center for Urban Studies.

June 1975

THE DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA DATA SYSTEM

The Detroit metropolitan area contains a variety of ethnic groups -- peoples set off by race, religion, cultural heritage, national or regional origin. The United States Census is a rich source of information regarding the numbers and residential locations of many ethnic populations, but, much of this information is stored on computer tapes, and has not been accessible in usable form to people who need it.

The Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System, (DMADS) was developed by the Ethnic Studies Division of the Center for Urban Studies to make it possible to manipulate and analyze a large amount of data from a variety of sources, including the U.S. Census. DMADS currently contains 1970 census data (fourth count population and housing) for the southeastern Michigan region, which represents approximately 4.7 million people, and consists of Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, Monroe, Washtenaw, Livingston, and St. Clair counties. This region includes the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1970: Wayne,¹ Oakland, and Macomb counties. Much of the information about the population of the Detroit area that the census provides is given for the Detroit SMSA, or for the city of Detroit.

Some information about the characteristics of the population is also made available for census tracts. The tract is

1 In 1971, a definitional change was made resulting in the addition of Livingston, St. Clair and Lapeer counties to the Detroit SMSA. This will affect the reporting of census data beginning in 1980.

the smallest unit of analysis in the Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System at the present time. The average number of residents in a tract is 4,000 to 5,000. The seven county Detroit region is divided into 1168 census tracts for purposes of data collection and analysis. Tract boundaries were established cooperatively by a local committee and the Bureau of the Census, and were intended to be maintained over a long time in order to make comparisons from census to census. Tracts were originally designed to be relatively uniform with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions, although this is not usually the case today. Tract data may be aggregated to describe larger areas, if desired.

At the present time the Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System can be used to generate statistical data and maps of the seven county region. DMADS now contains 2500 items of information, or variables, for each census tract; these data describe the housing and economic and social characteristics of each tract. The computer can manipulate the variables statistically (but not cross-tabulate them), combine them to form new variables, and map them at various scales.

ETHNIC DATA FROM DMADS

Some of the many items of information about each census tract that are stored in DMADS are ethnic data. DMADS contains counts, for each tract, of 33 country of origin groups, collected from a 20 percent sample of the population. These groups as defined by the Census Bureau come from countries officially

recognized by the U.S. State Department at the time of the census, in this case 1970. Respondents to this census item were asked to report their country of origin according to international² boundaries recognized by the U.S. at the time of the census. However, many persons probably reported their countries of birth in terms of boundaries that existed when they were born or emigrated, or indicated their own national origin even though it might not fit into one of the Census Bureau's categories.

There are separate counts of the first or immigrant generation from each country of origin, and the second generation, or children of immigrants. A child of immigrant parents born in two different foreign countries is classified on the basis of his or her father's country of origin, regardless of which parent's ethnic heritage is dominant in the family. Counts of the first and second generations may be combined to provide data for the "foreign stock." The U.S. Census provides no information on the countries of origin of persons who are of the third or subsequent generations in this country.

In addition to information by country of origin, DMADS provides census data for 11 European mother tongue groups, separately for the foreign born and for the native population (persons born in the U.S.). The 1970 Census defined the mother tongue as the principal language other than English that was usually spoken in the home when the respondent was a child. This information was collected from a 15 percent sample of the

2 Definitions of census terms used in this report are drawn from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census User's Guide, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, pp. 95-97.

population. Mother tongue data may provide a more accurate enumeration of some ethnic populations than counts of foreign stock would yield, and in some cases they furnish the only information. For example, the census does not count Jews or other religiously defined groups, but it enumerates the Yiddish speaking population.

Information on numbers of people of Spanish origin, and of Southern origin, and data on year of immigration, can also be obtained from DMADS. In the near future, DMADS will also be able to provide counts of the Black, American Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and Korean populations -- all groups designated as "racial categories" by the U.S. Census.

LIMITATIONS OF CENSUS DATA

Although the Census provides a great deal of useful information about ethnic populations, it has many limitations for purposes of ethnic research. Its major shortcoming is a melting pot, rather than a pluralistic, concept of the structure of the American population: in this matter, as in most others, Census definitions merely reflect the prevailing social and political ethos. Thus, the Census Bureau is interested in a respondent's race no matter how many generations his or her ancestors have been in this country; but national origin information is sought only from the foreign-born and their children. Other limitations of the census are summarized as follows:

- 1) boundaries of census tracts rarely coincide with the natural boundaries of ethnic communities;
- 2) there is no way to determine within-tract population variations;
- 3) because information is provided only for the foreign-born and their children, for national origin groups, a true count of an ethnic group's population is not available. There is no way of

measuring whether or not ethnicity does remain a significant factor in the lives of families who have been in this country for more than two generations;

- 4) the census is so structured that Jews and other religiously defined groups are not identified, nor are members of ethnic groups who were ethnic minorities in their countries of origin (e.g. Gypsies), nor people from culture areas that do not exist as independent political units (e.g. Ukrainians, Armenians), nor those from areas whose borders have changed (Hungarians, for example, living within the borders of what is now Rumania may be classified as Rumanians);
- 5) certain groups, including young Black adults, Latinos, and Native Americans, are known to be undercounted in the census.

CONTOUR MAPS FROM DMADS

The Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System is now capable of portraying the distributional pattern -- that is, the relative concentration -- of each of the 2500 variables throughout the seven county region. The DMADS base map shows the boundaries of the seven counties, the city of Detroit, the Detroit and St. Clair Rivers, Lake St. Clair, Essex County and the City of Windsor in Ontario. On the base map, the computer generates contours by means of linear interpolation based upon a statistical array of 1168 points, one for each census tract. Each point represents the magnitude

3 David Heer (ed.), Social Statistics and the City, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT-Jarvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1968.

of the variable being analyzed for a particular tract.

In order to portray the magnitude of variables on the map in a way that is standard from tract to tract, the raw population counts provided by the census have been converted to location quotients. The location quotient is a measure of a variable's concentration in a tract relative to the magnitude of that variable within the region. For example, let us say that we are interested in the distributional pattern of the Polish foreign-born population in the seven county region. The variable we wish to map, then, is the size of the Polish born population of each census tract in the region. But we will express this in the form of a location quotient for each tract, which tells us the relative degree to which Polish born people reside in any particular tract. If 1.7 percent of the region's population is of Polish birth, and 5.1 percent of Tract A's population is Polish born, then Tract A has three times as many foreign-born Poles as it would have if Poles were evenly distributed throughout all the census tracts in the region. Tract A would then have a location quotient value of 3 (or 300, when we multiply by a constant of 100). This tract may show up on the map as a point, or more likely, as one of a number of adjacent tracts enclosed by a contour on the map, indicating a relative concentration of the Polish born.

The maps show contours based on location quotients of 200, 300, 400, and so on at intervals of 100 up to 1,000. A quotient greater than 100 would indicate concentration of a variable; less than 100 would suggest

- 4 The point is not the geographic center, but a center that is weighted according to the population of block-groupings within the tract. Usually there are 3 or 4 block-groups in each tract. The point could be thought of as the population center of gravity of the tract.
- 5 The formula for determining the Polish location quotient of tract A can be expressed as:
$$\frac{\text{Polish population of tract A}}{\frac{\text{Total population of tract A}}{\text{Polish population of SMSA}} \times \frac{\text{Total population of SMSA}}{\text{Total population of SMSA}}} \times 100$$

a relative underrepresentation of that variable. Contours usually appear on the maps as concentric forms, with the greatest concentration or density at the center of the set of contours.

Maps for some ethnic groups, especially the smaller ones, may be misleading if the total populations of the groups are not taken into account. Although a high location quotient indicates a high degree of concentration or clustering, it does not necessarily mean a large population; a high location quotient could reflect a small number of families living close together, that is, within a single tract. The maps in this report are accompanied by tables indicating the total population of each national origin or mother tongue, to aid in their interpretation. The tables list some mother tongue groups that cannot be mapped, because the Census Bureau, unfortunately, does not make data by census tract available for all groups.

In the near future, data from the 1960 and 1950 censuses will be added to DMADS, permitting analyses of change. For example, the changing residential locations of the ethnic groups that make up the Detroit area can be studied, or the changing patterns of residential segregation among groups. Health, employment, and environmental quality data will also be included in the data bank, permitting examination of interactions among environmental, social, and economic patterns. A variety of additional statistical measures and modelling capabilities are also being developed.

USING THE DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA DATA SYSTEM

The DMADS program is designed for use by people whose backgrounds may not include any experience with computers. It is self-explanatory: when the program is run on a computer terminal it functions like an interviewer, requesting the information it needs from the user and then giving the data back in printed form. Thus, individuals may use the system to study any variables they choose, in any sequence.

If a user requires information on the distribution of a particular ethnic group, for example, he or she may want to request a map of that group. Since the computer maps can be plotted at any scale, the user can request that the map he wants be drawn to the same scale as a base map of the metropolitan area, which shows streets, city boundaries and other landmarks, or census tracts. The map can be plotted at any size up to approximately 30 inches by 30 inches.

The user can also request that the map be accompanied by a computer printout, which contains a variety of statistics, including location quotients, that describe the ethnic group's total population and census tract populations. Referring to the printout, and using the ethnic map as an overlay upon the base map, it is possible to identify and locate ethnic settlements of varying degrees of density quite precisely.

This report is only an attempt to introduce the mapping capabilities of DMADS for studying the ethnic structure of Detroit, rather than a detailed analysis or application of the mapping technique. Ideas and suggestions from readers who envision practical applications or uses of the

mapping technique, whether in research, teaching, or for other purposes, would be gratefully received.

COMPUTER MAPS OF SELECTED DETROIT AREA, COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE GROUPS

A.	<u>Country of Origin Groups</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
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2.	Danish foreign stock	
3.	Polish foreign stock	
4.	Polish first generation	
5.	Polish second generation	
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7.	Lithuanian foreign stock	
8.	Greek foreign stock	
9.	U.S.S.R. foreign stock	
10.	Chinese foreign stock	
11.	Mexican foreign stock	
12.	African foreign stock	
13.	Irish foreign stock	
14.	Italian foreign stock	
B.	<u>Mother Tongue Groups</u>	
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4. Russian

5. Yiddish

6. Italian

7. Spanish

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2. Country of Origin, Selected Groups, 1970, Detroit Suburbs
3. Mother Tongue by Nativity and Parentage, City of Detroit, 1970
4. Mother Tongue by Nativity and Parentage, 1970, Detroit Suburbs
5. Mother Tongue Groups by Nativity: Percent Suburban, 1970
6. Mother Tongue Groups in City and Suburbs, by Nativity and Parentage
7. Selected Mother Tongues by Selected Countries of Origin, Foreign-Born,
Detroit SMSA

TABLE I.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, SELECTED GROUPS, CITY OF DETROIT, 1970

Country of Origin:	Foreign Stock:				Total	
	Foreign Born		Second Generation			
United Kingdom	10,794	9%	14,680	7%	25,474	7%
Ireland	1,600	1	5,299	2	6,899	2
Sweden	622	1	2,359	1	2,981	1
Denmark	328	0	689	0	1,017	0
France	659	1	1,609	1	2,268	1
Germany	7,065	6	23,188	10	30,253	9
Poland	17,268	14	50,868	23	68,136	20
Czechoslovakia	1,482	1	3,898	2	5,380	2
Austria	2,344	2	6,554	3	8,898	3
Hungary	2,417	2	4,606	2	7,023	2
Yugoslavia	3,991	3	3,452	2	7,443	2
Lithuania	1,554	1	2,765	1	4,319	1
Greece	2,378	2	2,565	1	4,943	1
Italy	11,461	10	18,915	10	30,376	9
USSR	6,391	5	9,333	4	15,724	5
China	883	1	690	0	1,573	0
Canada	22,031	18	36,613	16	58,644	17
Mexico	2,914	2	5,488	2	8,402	2
Africa	1,226	1	683	0	1,909	1
All Others and Not Reported	21,939	18	27,532	13	49,471	15
TOTAL	119,347	100%	221,786	100%	341,133	100%

Source: 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Michigan, pc (1)-c24, Table 81

TABLE 2.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, SELECTED GROUPS, 1970, DETROIT SUBURBSWAYNE, OAKLAND AND MACOMB COUNTIES

Country of Origin:	Foreign Stock:					
	Foreign Born		Second Generation		Total	
United Kingdom	22,239	13%	47,346	9%	69,585	10%
Ireland	1,701	1	9,621	2	11,322	2
Sweden	1,115	1	5,943	1	7,058	1
Denmark	955	1	2,570	1	3,525	1
France	1,338	1	3,488	1	4,826	1
Germany	13,011	7	45,683	9	58,694	9
Poland	16,437	9	75,070	15	91,507	13
Czechoslovakia	2,421	1	8,780	2	11,181	2
Austria	2,901	2	14,429	3	17,330	3
Hungary	4,367	2	14,678	3	19,045	3
Yugoslavia	4,466	3	9,736	2	14,202	2
Lithuania	1,293	1	5,147	1	6,440	1
Greece	3,325	2	5,779	1	9,104	1
Italy	15,587	9	47,093	9	62,680	9
USSR	6,939	4	24,670	5	31,609	5
China	787	0	1,009	0	1,796	0
Canada	46,326	26	116,013	23	162,339	24
Mexico	1,117	1	4,525	1	5,642	1
All Others and Not Reported	28,717	16	61,398	12	90,115	13
TOTAL	175,022	100%	502,978	100%	678,000	100%

TABLE 3.

MOTHER TONGUE BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, CITY OF DETROIT, 1970

Number of people whose mother tongue is:	3rd generation	2nd generation	1st generation	Total
English	1,031,162	87,726	29,899	1,148,787
Swedish	179	1,172	577	1,928
French	4,386	4,832	4,500	13,718
German	8,460	17,502	10,423	36,385
Polish	19,480	47,785	17,240	84,505
Slovak	337	3,104	1,141	4,582
Hungarian	620	3,141	2,365	6,126
Serbo-Croatian	190	1,904	2,604	4,698
Russian	193	1,458	1,982	3,633
Ukrainian	366	2,109	3,469	5,944
Lithuanian	240	2,029	1,911	4,180
Finnish	1,006	2,822	539	4,367
Rumanian	218	932	1,123	2,273
Yiddish	594	4,935	3,825	9,354
Greek	485	2,098	2,575	5,158
Italian	2,607	15,224	11,763	29,594
Spanish	7,946	6,475	5,092	19,513
Arabic	626	2,788	3,388	6,802
All other groups	3,297	11,004	13,846	28,147
Not reported	87,797	2,746	1,085	91,628
TOTAL	1,170,189	221,786	119,347	1,511,322

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Vol. 1, part 24: Michigan, Table 142.

TABLE 4.

MOTHER TONGUE BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, 1970, DETROIT SUBURBS

(WAYNE, OAKLAND & MACOMB COUNTIES)

Number of people whose mother tongue is:	3rd generation	2nd generation	1st generation	Total
English	1,824,130	245,233	57,538	2,126,901
Swedish	965	3,185	1,128	5,278
French	9,589	13,477	8,730	31,796
German	25,705	37,434	20,082	83,221
Polish	37,960	65,889	15,559	119,408
Slovak	1,590	6,066	1,464	9,120
Hungarian	2,571	10,331	4,549	17,451
Serbo-Croatian	850	4,477	2,102	7,429
Russian	648	3,309	2,152	6,109
Ukrainian	831	4,658	3,725	9,214
Lithuanian	625	3,316	1,574	5,515
Finnish	3,436	5,500	905	9,841
Rumanian	553	2,850	1,703	5,106
Yiddish	2,486	13,374	6,128	21,988
Greek	1,260	4,015	3,388	8,663
Italian	7,693	36,572	16,676	60,941
Spanish	7,307	5,819	3,036	16,162
Arabic	922	5,921	4,444	11,287
All other groups	8,856	25,886	8,632	53,374
Not reported	72,624	5,666	1,507	79,797
TOTAL	2,010,601	502,978	175,022	2,688,601

TABLE 5.

MOTHER TONGUE GROUPS BY NATIVITY: % SUBURBAN, 1970: DETROIT SMSA
(WAYNE, OAKLAND & MACOMB COUNTIES)

Mother tongue groups:	% Suburban			Total
	3rd generation	2nd generation	1st generation	
English	64%	74%	66%	65%
Swedish	84	73	66	73
French	69	74	66	70
German	75	68	66	70
Polish	66	58	47	59
Slovak	83	66	56	67
Hungarian	81	77	66	74
Serbo-Croatian	82	70	45	61
Russian	77	69	52	63
Ukrainian	69	69	52	61
Lithuanian	72	62	45	57
Finnish	77	66	63	69
Rumanian	72	75	60	69
Yiddish	81	73	62	70
Greek	72	66	57	63
Italian	75	71	59	67
Spanish	48	47	37	45
Arabic	60	68	57	62
All other groups	73	70	57	65
Not reported	45	67	58	47
TOTAL	64%	69%	59%	64%

TABLE 6.

MOTHER TONGUE GROUPS IN CITY AND SUBURBS, DETROIT, 1970

BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE

Mother Tongue Groups	City of Detroit			Detroit Suburbs		
	%3rd Gen.	%2nd Gen.	%1st Gen.	%3rd Gen.	%2nd Gen.	%1st G.
English	90%	8%	3%	86%	11%	3%
Swedish	9	61	30	18	60	21
French	32	35	33	30	42	28
German	23	48	29	31	45	24
Polish	23	57	20	32	55	13
Slovak	7	68	25	17	67	16
Hungarian	10	51	39	15	59	26
Serbo-Croatian	4	41	55	11	60	28
Russian	5	40	55	11	54	35
Ukrainian	6	36	58	9	51	40
Lithuanian	6	48	46	11	60	29
Finnish	23	65	12	35	56	9
Rumanian	10	41	49	11	56	33
Yiddish	6	53	41	11	61	28
Greek	9	41	50	15	46	39
Italian	9	51	40	13	60	27
Spanish	41	33	26	45	36	19
Arabic	9	41	50	8	52	39

SELECTED MOTHER TONGUES BY SELECTED COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, FOREIGNBORN, DETROIT, SMSA, 1970

MOTHER TONGUE: PERCENT

	French	German	Polish	Czech.	Slovak	Hungarian	Italian	Spanish	Russian.	Ukrain.	Lithuanian	Yiddish	Other	%Total
Canada	14 72	3 7	2 4	0 3	0 1	1 7	1 3	0 1	0 6	3 24	0 4	2 15	74 --	100
Germany	1 1	85 56	5 3	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 0	0 0	0 1	2 5	1 7	1 2	5 --	100
Austria	0 0	54 9	6 1	1 4	5 10	1 1	1 0	0 0	2 2	14 10	0 0	4 2	12 --	100
Switzerland	0 0	3 3	81 84	0 0	0 1	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 7	2 6	0 1	8 28	5 --	100
Czechoslovakia	0 0	10 1	1 0	32 87	40 60	6 3	0 0	0 0	2 2	1 0	0 0	2 1	6 --	100
Hungary	0 0	15 3	0 0	0 0	0 1	77 75	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 1	7 --	100
Italy	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	95 90	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	5 --	100
Mexico	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	94 47	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	6 --	100
S.S.R.	0 0	6 2	2 1	0 1	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	23 75	25 47	0 1	29 38	15 --	100
Lithuania	0 0	7 1	3 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	76 62	7 2	7 --	100
Other	-- 28	-- 18	-- 7	-- 5	-- 26	-- 13	-- 7	-- 52	-- 7	-- 8	-- 25	-- 11	-- --	---
TOTAL	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- 100	-- --	---

Source: U.S. Census, 1970, Subject Reports: National Origin and Language, PC (2)-1A, Table 15.

INTERPRETIVE NOTES ON THE MAPS AND TABLES

The ethnic maps were produced by the computerized Detroit Metropolitan Area Data System, using census data available on computer tape, while the tables are based upon published census information. The maps show the seven county Detroit region, but the statistical tables provide counts only for the city of Detroit and its suburbs within the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), consisting of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties, because census publications make the data available in this form. The maps show that most ethnic clustering in the larger Detroit region occurs within this three county area, which contains most of the region's population. Suburban Detroit as described in the tables is represented by data for the city of Detroit subtracted from the total for the SMSA. Thus, the enclaves of Highland Park and Hamtramck are included in the suburban category.

The tables list the largest country of origin and mother tongue⁶ populations residing in the Detroit area: the 18 mother tongue groups represented in tables 3 through 8 comprise 94 percent of the population of the Detroit SMSA having a mother tongue other than, or in addition to, English. In 1970, the census provided information about the mother tongues of American-born persons, including those beyond the first and second generations, for the first time since 1940. Thus, the tables contain counts for mother tongue groups by nativity and parentage, in three separate categories: (1) the first, or foreign-born, generation;

6 Definitions of "country of origin," "mother tongue," and other census terms are contained in the first part of this report.

(2) the second generation, having at least one foreign-born parent; and
(3) the third and subsequent generations ("natives of native parentage", in census terminology).

The maps of mother tongue populations show the residential locations and degree of clustering of the total population of each group, that is, the sum of the three nativity and parentage categories. The maps of country of origin groups in most cases show the total foreign stock population: the sum of the foreign born and second generation.

The data on mother tongue provide more information than the country of origin figures, which are collected only from the first and second generations. Thus, for instance, one fourth to one third of the French speaking, German speaking, Polish speaking, and Finnish speaking groups -- and over 40 percent of the Spanish mother tongue group -- would not be included in country of origin figures because they are neither foreign born nor the children of immigrants. (See Table 6). Yet, they participate sufficiently in their ethnic cultures to claim a mother tongue other than English after three or more generations in this country. In fact, 22 percent of those in the Detroit SMSA who claim mother tongues other than English are natives of native parentage; 51 percent are second generation, and only 27 percent are immigrants. Of course, the fact that a person was exposed to another language as a child does not mean that he or she retains fluency in that language as an adult.

The population of the Detroit area that claims a mother tongue other than English is not insignificant in size: by a conservative estimate, 18 percent of the city's people, and 18 percent of suburbanites,

fall into this category. In the Detroit SMSA, 69 percent of the foreign born claim a mother tongue other than English, as do a full 53 percent of the second generation, and 5 percent of the native population of native parentage.

While figures on mother tongues other than English provide more information than country of origin data, they still do not include the majority of Detroit area ethnics. Of the English mother tongue population of the SMSA, almost one fourth are Black, and Many more may be people who participate in ethnic community life, but whose linguistic heritage may be English (e.g. Scots, English, Southern Whites), or who may have grown up in English speaking households.

A census question on ethnic ancestry, origin, descent or heritage would probably yield a more accurate count of persons having some ethnic background or affiliation than either the country of origin or mother tongue items provide. Persons of Spanish origin are currently the only group for whom such a question is asked. The 1970 census for the city of Detroit yielded the following figures, which are interesting to compare:

- 1) Foreign stock of Mexico, Spain, and South and Central American countries, together with persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage: 14,511
- 2) Spanish mother tongue: 19,513
- 3) Spanish language: 27,038
- 4) Spanish origin: 30,054

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The third item, Spanish language, includes all those having Spanish as a mother tongue, together with all persons in households whose head or spouse reported Spanish as a mother tongue. The fourth item represents answers to the question, "is (the respondent's) origin or descent Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, other Spanish, or none of these?" This item, asked of a small sample of the population (5 percent), provides the largest count of Latinos in Detroit, but the small sample size makes it somewhat inaccurate, especially for small geographical areas. And Detroit Latino leaders have said that even this is an undercount of the Latino population. Similar claims have been made with regard to census information on most other Detroit ethnic groups, although there is currently no other source of data that can be used to check the accuracy of the census counts.

Despite their shortcomings, census data on mother tongue and national origin can provide a number of interesting insights into the ethnic structure of the Detroit area. This commentary will touch on only three questions, although readers who carefully peruse the maps and tables will notice many other aspects of Detroit's ethnic structure that might have been mentioned:

- 1) To what degree do national origin and mother tongue groups in the Detroit area remain residencially clustered, and to what degree are they dispersed? Do "ethnic neighborhoods" still exist in the 1970's, and if so, where are they located?
- 2) To what degree are various mother tongue and national origin groups suburban dwellers? Are there patterns from one generation to the next?

- 3) Is it possible to clarify the ethnic identity of various national origin groups? That is, by interrelating mother tongue and country of origin data, is it possible to sort out ethnic cultural groups from politically defined national origin populations? Can we determine which cultural or ethnic groups have migrated to the Detroit area from the various European states represented in the country of origin data?

A look at the tables together with the maps can shed some light on each of these three questions. The following brief comments are intended to stimulate consideration of these and other questions raised by the data presented here.

(1) ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING AND DISPERSION

A first impression of the maps of the various country of origin populations in the Detroit region suggests that all of these foreign stock groups continue to cluster to some degree. All of the groups inhabit some census tracts with location quotients of 200 or greater: the contours on the maps show some residential concentrations for all groups. Thus, no group is evenly distributed over the geographic space of the metropolitan area. A map of the "natives of native parentage" as a total population displays no contours whatever, because this population is evenly distributed. But maps of all of the specific foreign stock groups -- including, perhaps unexpectedly, Swedes, Danes, Canadians and British -- do exhibit contours indicating residential

concentrations of varying degrees of density.

When the components of the foreign stock, that is, the foreign born and the second generation, are mapped separately, the second generation of some groups appears to be somewhat more dispersed than the foreign born. Second generation residential clusters often cover larger areas than first generation clusters, yet the location quotients are often just as high as they are for the foreign born, indicating an equal degree of concentration, but in settlements encompassing larger territories. For example, when the maps of first and second generation populations having Poland as their country of origin are overlaid, it is clear that the contours showing second generation clustering extend much farther outward, to the north (north into Warren) and to the southwest (west into Dearborn), than do the contours indicating areas of first generation settlement. Thus, the second generation of Polish origin is spread over a larger area, yet both first and second generations are densely clustered, and in the same general areas.

Country of origin and mother tongue groups exhibit varying degrees of clustering and dispersion. It should be noted that the degree of clustering shown on the maps is not related to the size of the populations involved. For example, although the groups of Chinese and Danish origin are small in the Detroit area, as shown by the population figures on Tables 1 and 2, they appear quite highly concentrated on the maps -- more clustered than many groups that are much larger in size, such as the Germans. On the other hand, not all small groups appear as densely clustered on the maps.

The ethnic settlement patterns shown on the set of maps appear to fall into three basic types. First, there is a decentralized or dispersed pattern of settlement, such as that of the Swedes or Germans, involving low density, generalized concentrations over large areas. A second pattern seems to consist of nuclei or clusters -- areas of high to medium density, or concentration dispersed about the region, such as the case of the Greeks or Danes. A third pattern is that of concentrated settlement in one or two relatively small areas of the region, such as the maps show for the Hungarians in southwest Detroit; the Jews in the northwest; the Poles east of Woodward and north into the suburbs, and in southwestern Detroit and its suburbs; and the Latinos in southwest Detroit and in Pontiac. In this third case, the maps suggest that we are justified in using the term "ethnic neighborhoods" to describe the core of an ethnic settlement, where high location quotients are evidence of considerable ethnic residential concentration. Sometimes, as in the case of the Hungarians, Italians, Poles, or Jews, an ethnic neighborhood of this kind is part of a sectoral settlement pattern, extending outward in a corridor from the group's center of earlier settlement in Detroit, into the adjacent suburbs.

(2) ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SUBURBS

Tables 5 and 6, as well as the maps, show that all of the ethnic groups have suburban settlements. In fact, all groups represented in this report except the Latinos now have a majority of their members in

the suburbs. However, the city continues to have substantial ethnic clusters or neighborhoods, including some traditional areas of ethnic settlement, as in the case of Poles, Jews, Hungarians, and Italians.

Most groups show 10 to 20 percent more of their populations in the suburbs in 1970 than in 1960, indicating that the suburban movement is still in process, although the crest of the wave was already evident during the 1950's for many groups. Table 5 shows that for most groups, each successive generation tends to be more suburban than the previous one. There are exceptions, including the third generation of the English mother tongue group, which includes a large proportion of Blacks; the Latinos; and the Arabic-speaking population. But the foreign born generation of all groups except the Latinos is already primarily located in the suburbs. Table 6 shows the proportions of the city's population, and of the suburban population, that are of the first, second, and third and subsequent generation. There is considerable variation among the mother tongue groups represented, which is no doubt partly due to differences in recency of immigration.

(3) INTERRELATING LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL ORIGIN

The maps, taken together, and Table 7, provide some information concerning the national origins of the various mother tongue groups that reside in the Detroit area, and the ethnic composition of the various countries represented in the area.

Table 7 shows crosstabulations of several countries of origin

with several mother tongues for the foreign born in the Detroit metropolitan area. Reading across the rows from left to right, and looking at the percentage figure in the upper right corner of each cell, we can see which mother tongues are found among the population from each country of origin. Reading down the columns, from top to bottom, and looking at the percentage in the lower left corner of each cell, we can see which countries each mother tongue group came from. This information is of interest in itself, and is an important aid in interpreting the maps.

Table 7 provides a picture of the linguistic or ethnic makeup of the various populations who have come to Detroit from European countries of origin. A few of these countries, as they are represented by emigrants to the Detroit area, prove to be quite ethnically homogeneous. For example, most people who claim Italy as their country of origin also claim Italian as their mother tongue, and most Italian speakers mention Italy as their country of origin. Thus, variations among the several maps depicting the distribution of populations of Italian origin are probably attributable to generational differences.

The table also shows that the populations who speak Polish, and who claim Poland as their country of origin, also coincide to a considerable degree -- but 8 percent of those whose country is Poland are Yiddish speakers. This suggests that we should try superimposing the Yiddish mother tongue and Polish country of origin maps. In this way we can identify some neighborhoods or clusters inhabited by ethnic Poles, and others in which Jews reside. For example, the overlaid maps show a neighborhood south of Hamtramck where Polish Jews are located,

which was one of the original areas of Jewish settlement in Detroit, and evidently still contains remnants of that community. The maps also show a large and densely settled area in the northwestern sector of the Detroit area inhabited by Jews, including persons of Polish origin.

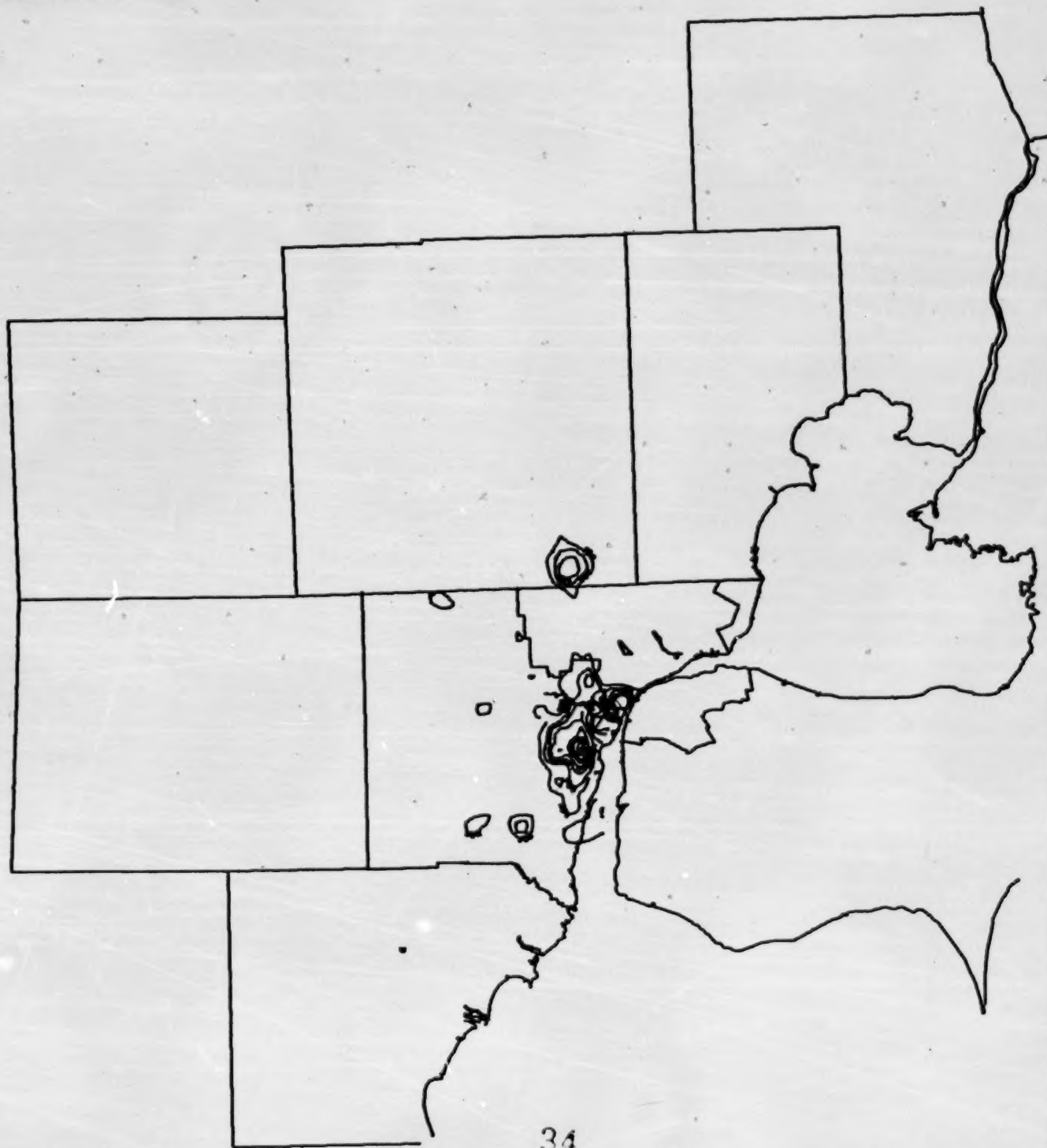
Some of the countries of origin represented in the maps and tables are extremely pluralistic ethnically, and referring to the country of origin maps and statistics alone is unlikely to be very informative. For example, of those foreign born persons who claim the USSR as a country of origin, only 23 percent are Russian speakers; 25 percent speak Ukrainian (the Census Bureau does not recognize the Ukraine as a country of origin); 29 percent speak Yiddish; 6 percent speak German; and another 17 percent speak other languages, such as Armenian, Estonian, and others. Thus, the people who have come to the Detroit area from what is now the USSR are of a variety of ethnic origins, as evidenced by the mother tongue statistics. Because the Census Bureau does not make data on the Ukrainian mother tongue population available for census tracts, it is impossible to map this group. But by a process of elimination, it may be possible to identify residential locations of Ukrainians in the Detroit area by overlaying maps of USSR country of origin, Russian mother tongue, and Yiddish mother tongue, a procedure which may also disclose locations of Russians and of Jews of Russian origin.

Table 7 not only helps to clarify the ethnic composition of the populations emigrating to the Detroit area from various European states, it also helps us to identify the origins of

a number of ethnic groups that, for a variety of historical reasons, are dispersed among a number of countries. For example, 72 percent of the French speaking foreign born population of the Detroit area came from Canada (but only 14 percent of Canadian emigrants speak French). Of the foreign born population of Spanish speakers, only 47 percent came from Mexico; most of the rest came from other South and Central American countries. Of the Ukrainian speakers, almost half came from the USSR, while another quarter came from Canada. Of the foreign born who speak Yiddish, 38 percent came from the USSR, 28 percent from Poland, 15 percent from Canada, and another 20 percent from a variety of other countries.

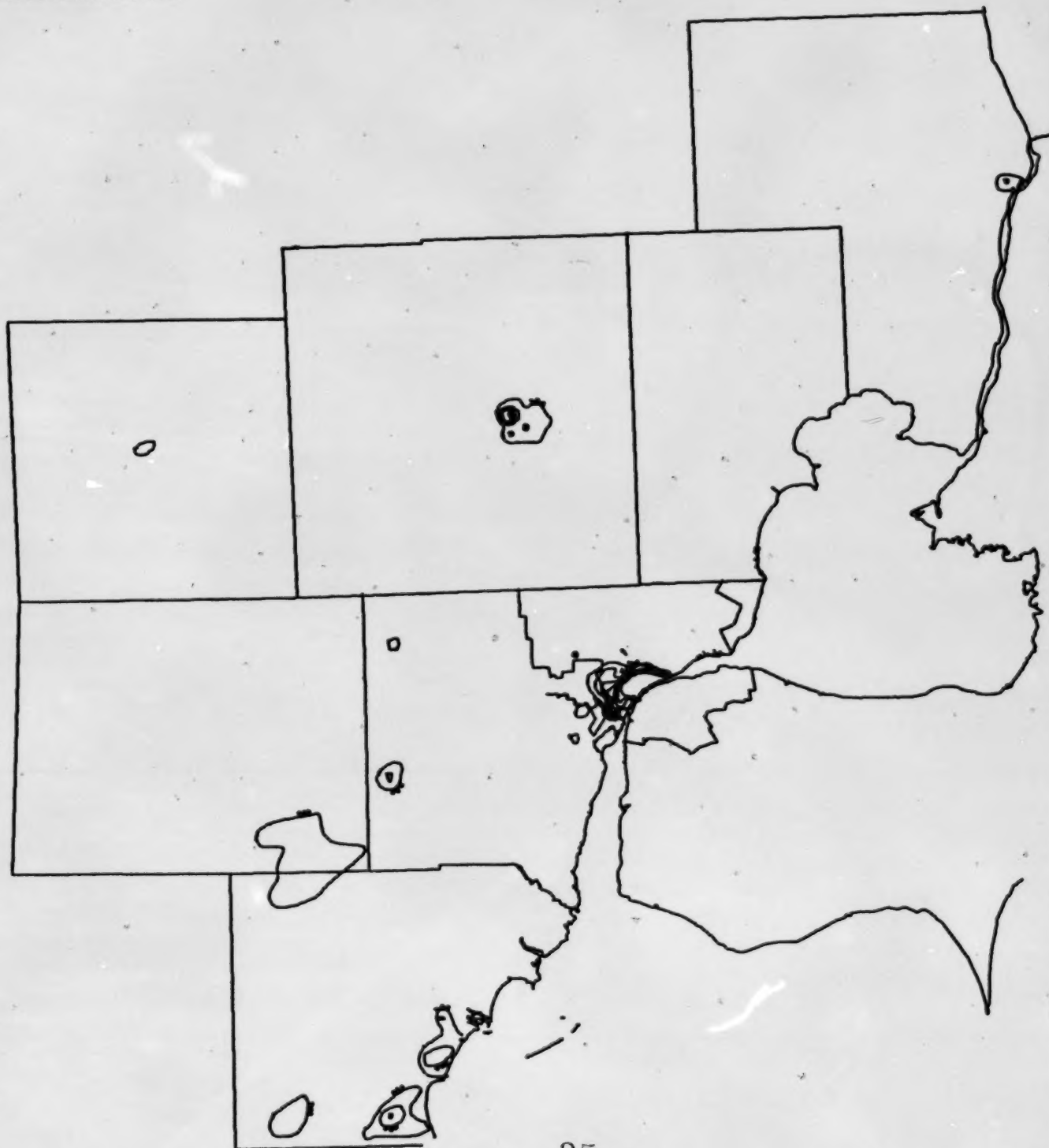
The maps and tables help to suggest the ethnic diversity of the Detroit area, even as late as 1970, long after the melting pot should have done its work. It is hoped that they will provide a useful tool for exploring this diversity.

HUNGARY FOREIGN STOCK

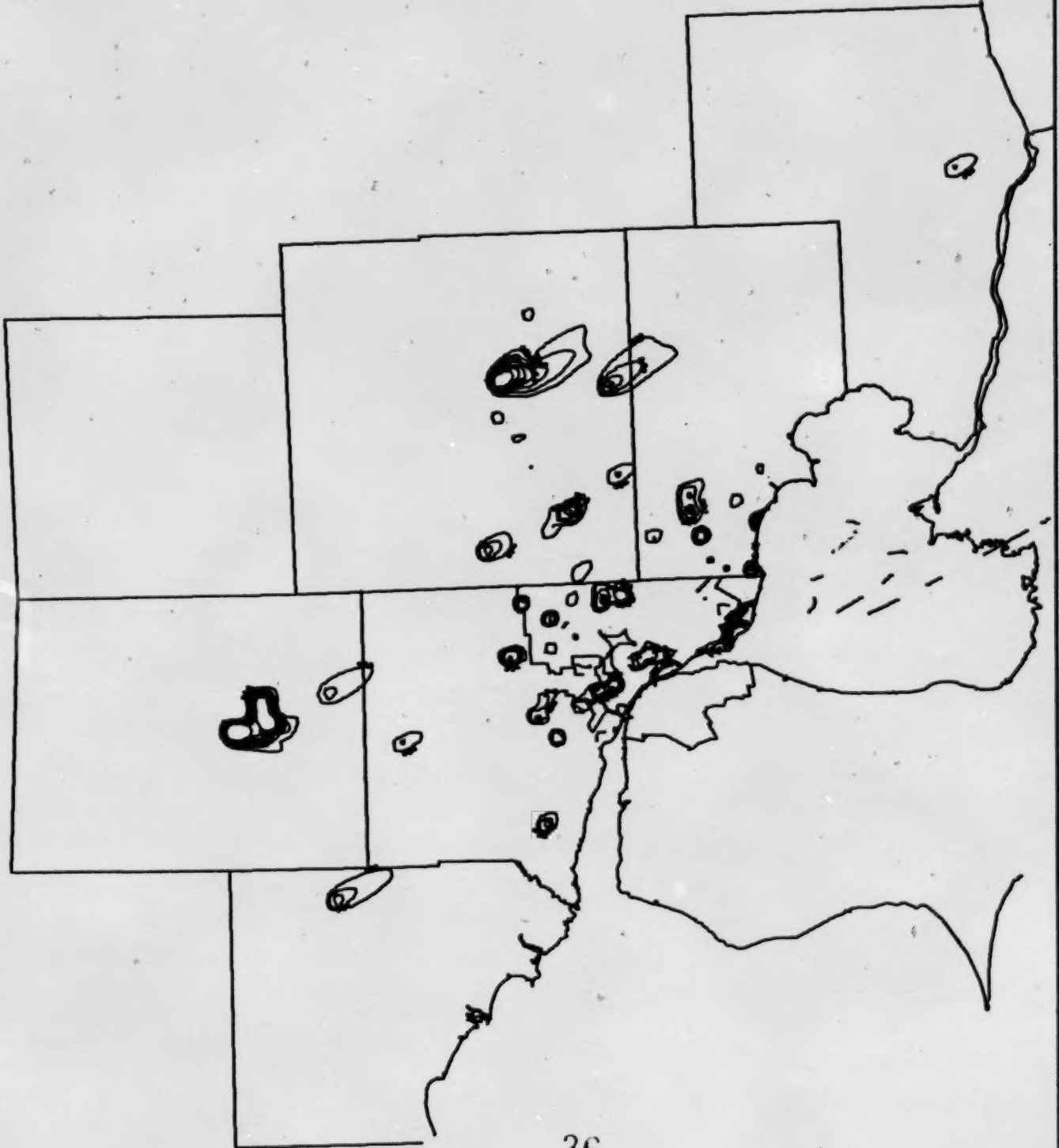


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MEXICO FOREIGN STOCK

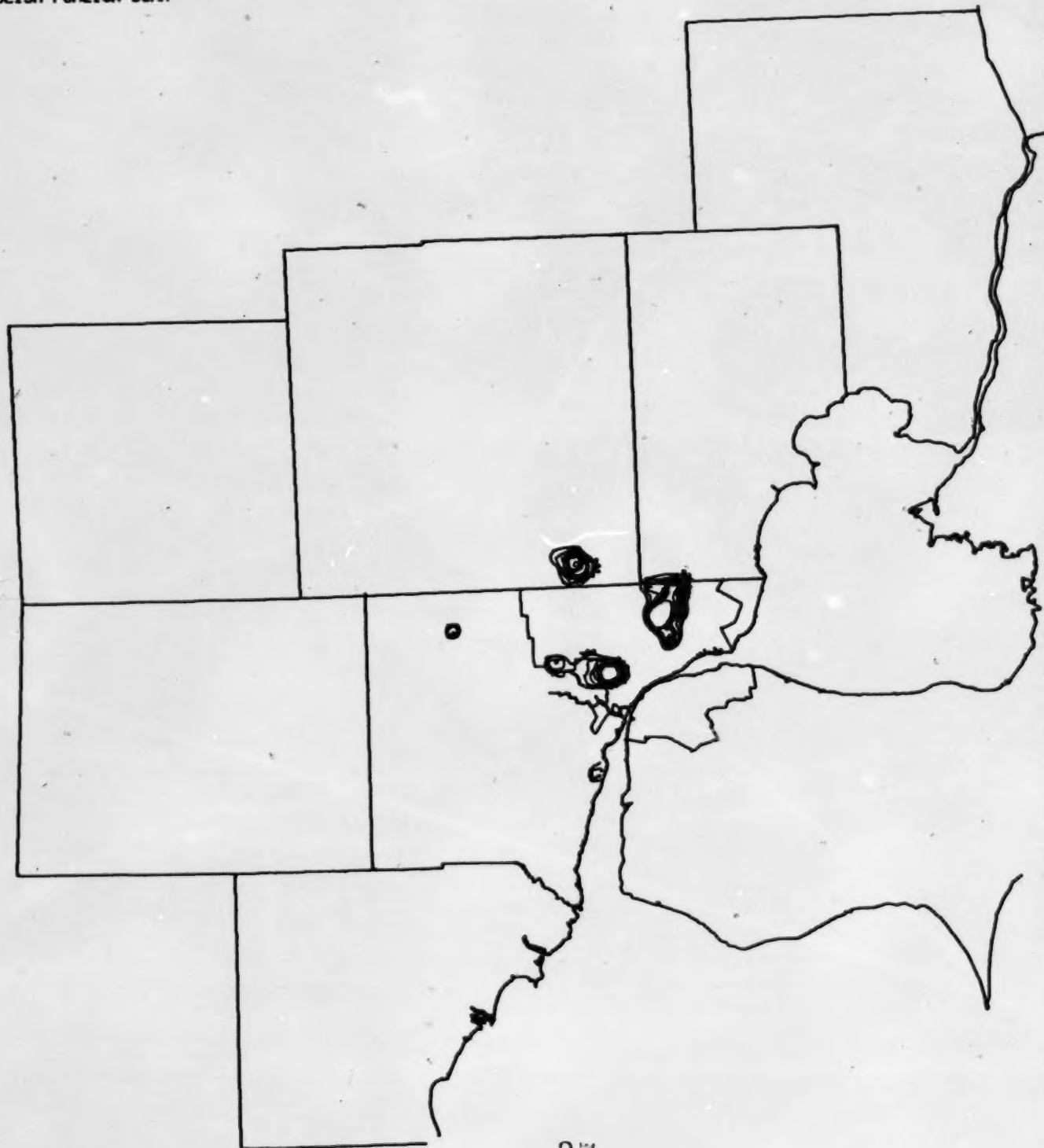


AFRICA FOREIGN STOCK



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POLISH FOREIGN BORN

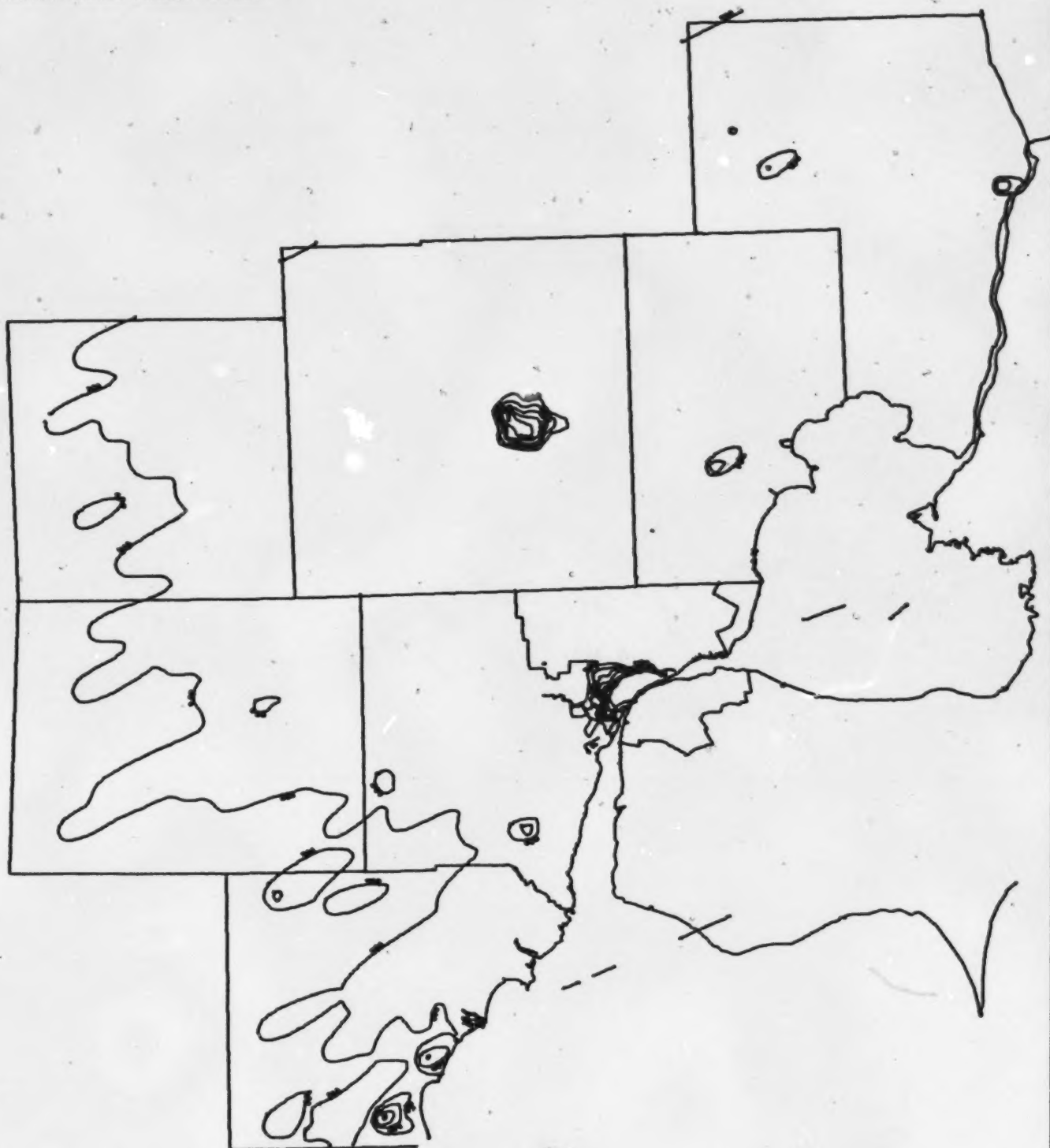


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CHINA FOREIGN STOCK



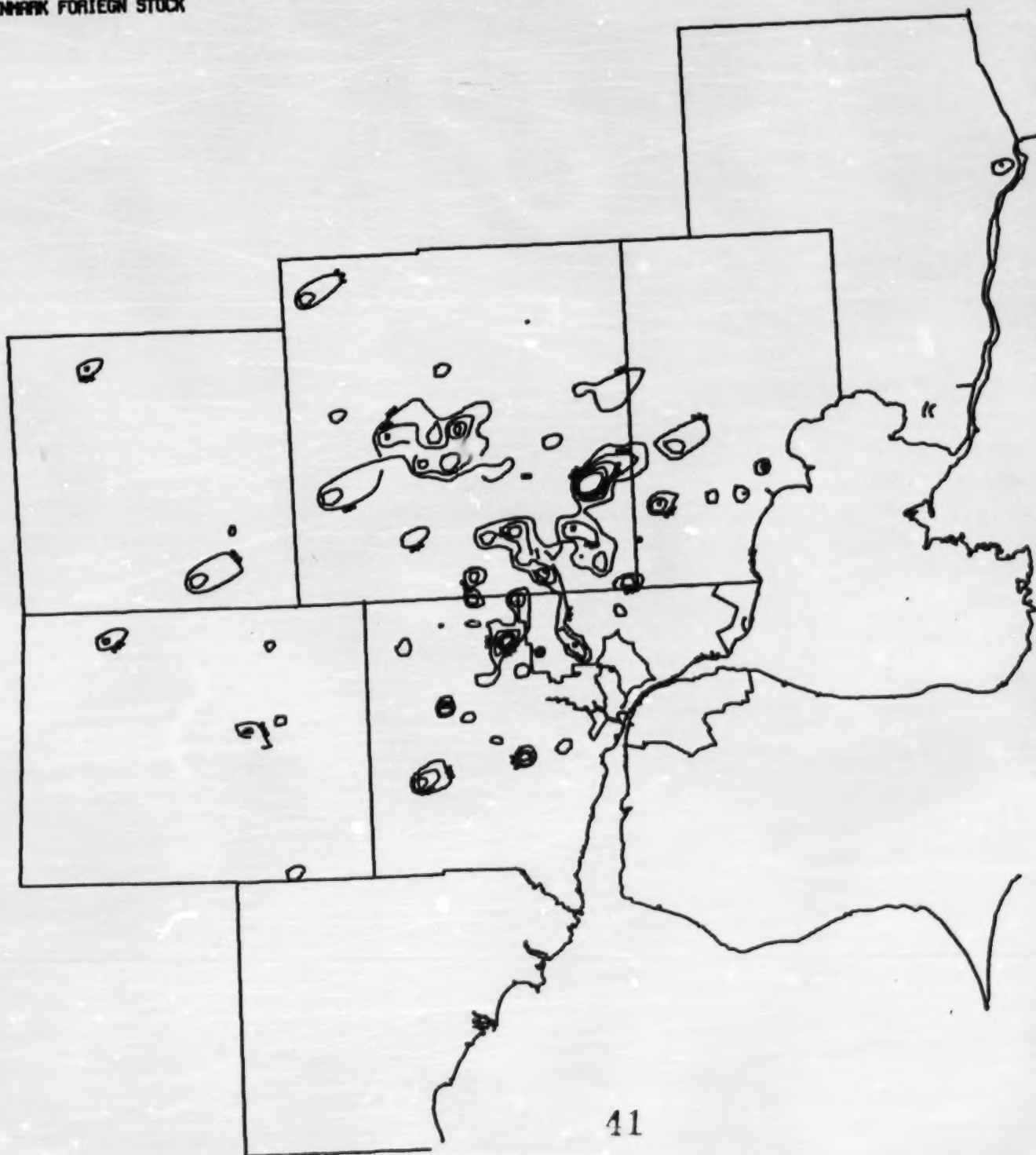
SPANISH MOTHER TONGUE (TOTAL)



U.S.S.R. FOREIGN STOCK



DENMARK FOREIGN STOCK



GERMAN MOTHER TONGUE (TOTAL)



MEXICO FOREIGN STOCK



POLISH SECOND GENERATION

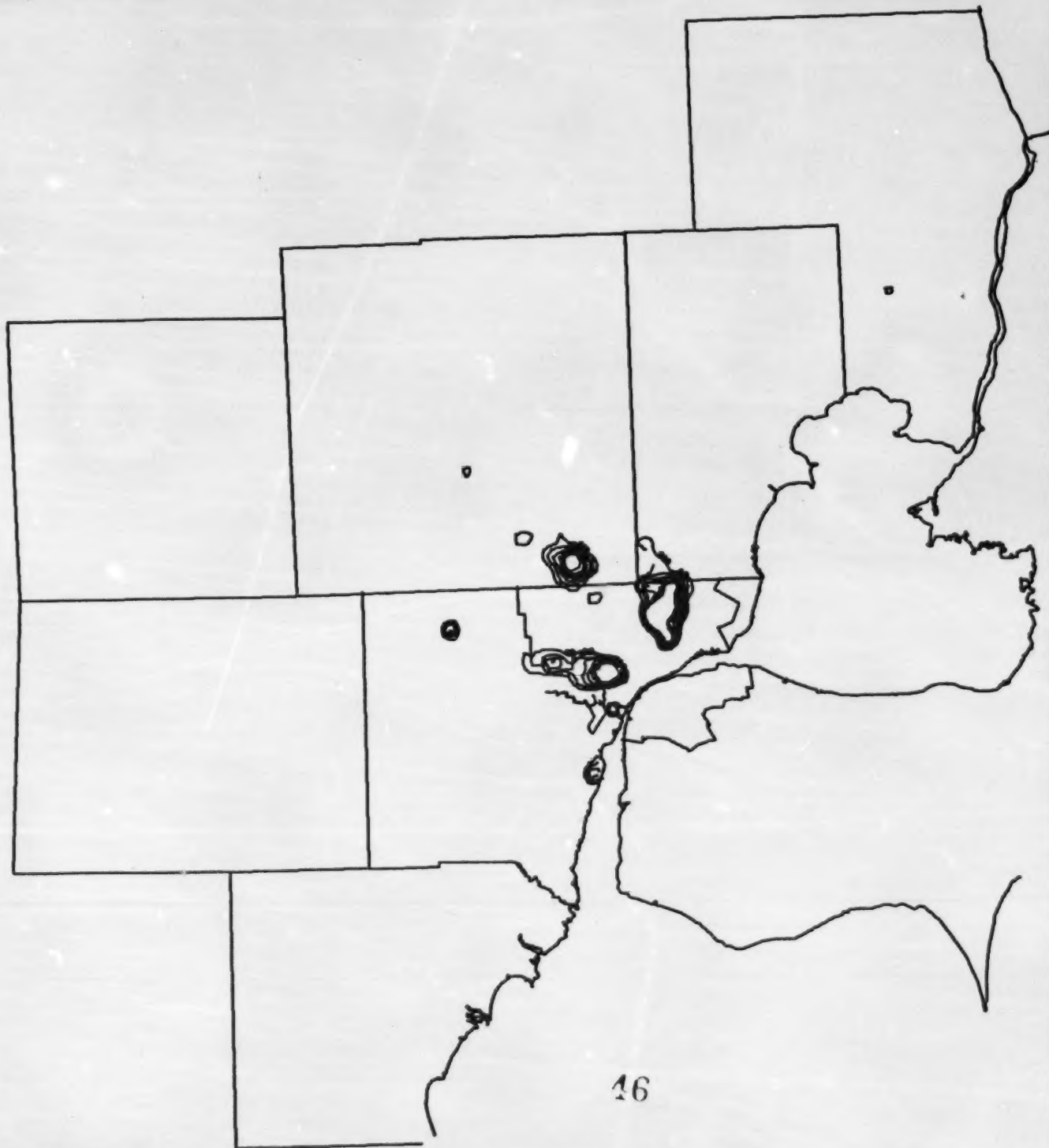


POLISH FOREIGN STOCK

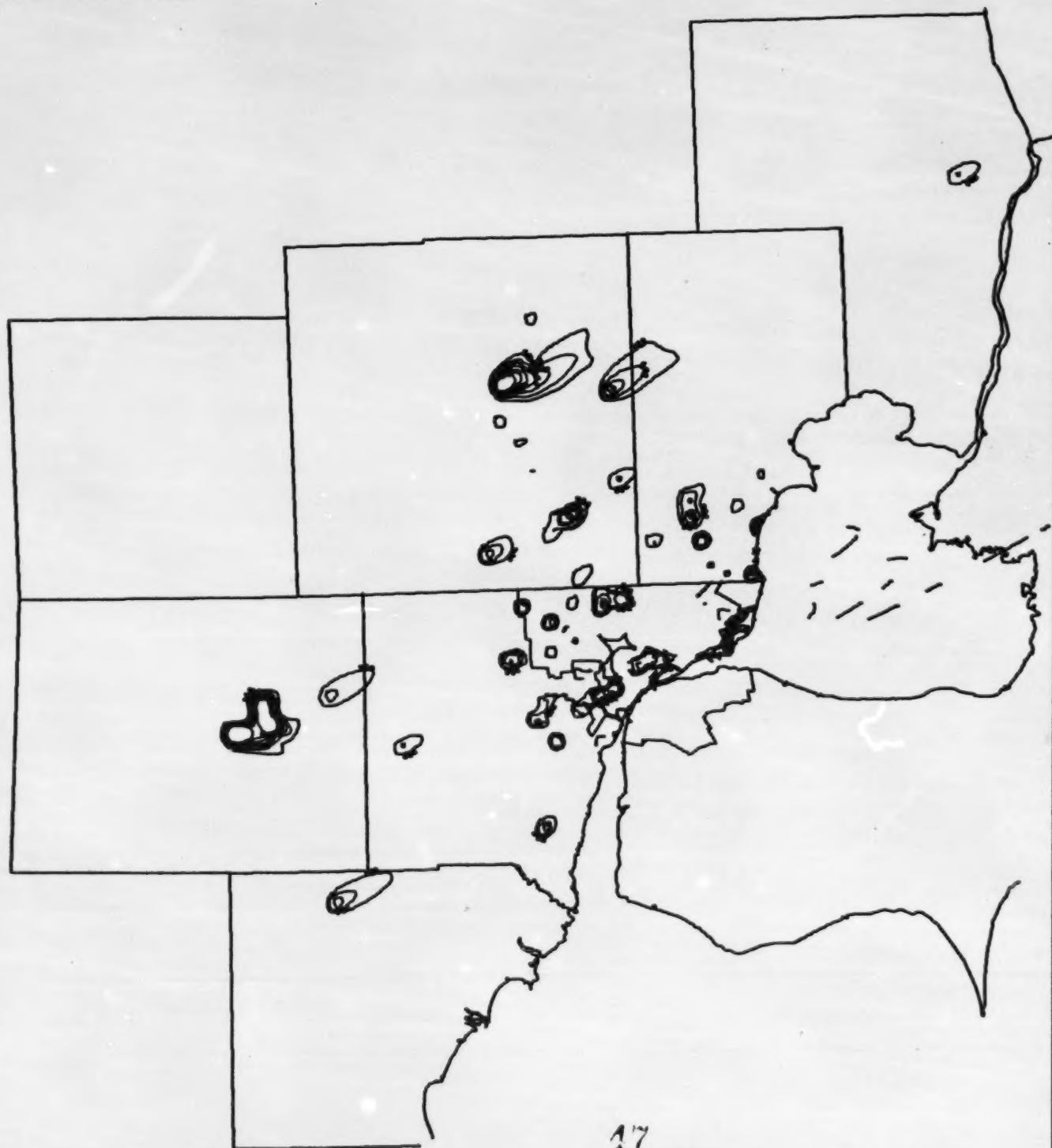


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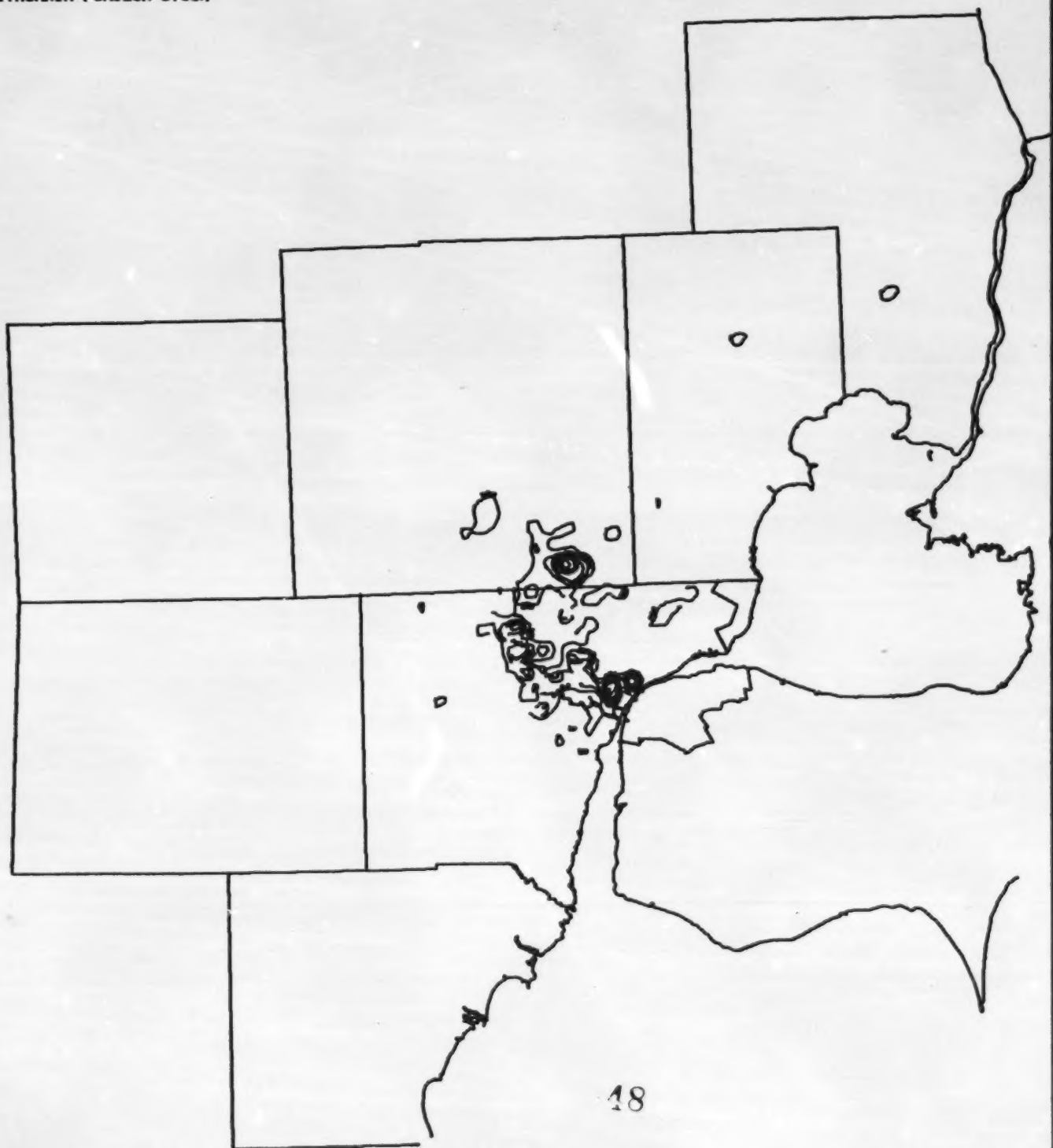
POLISH FOREIGN BORN



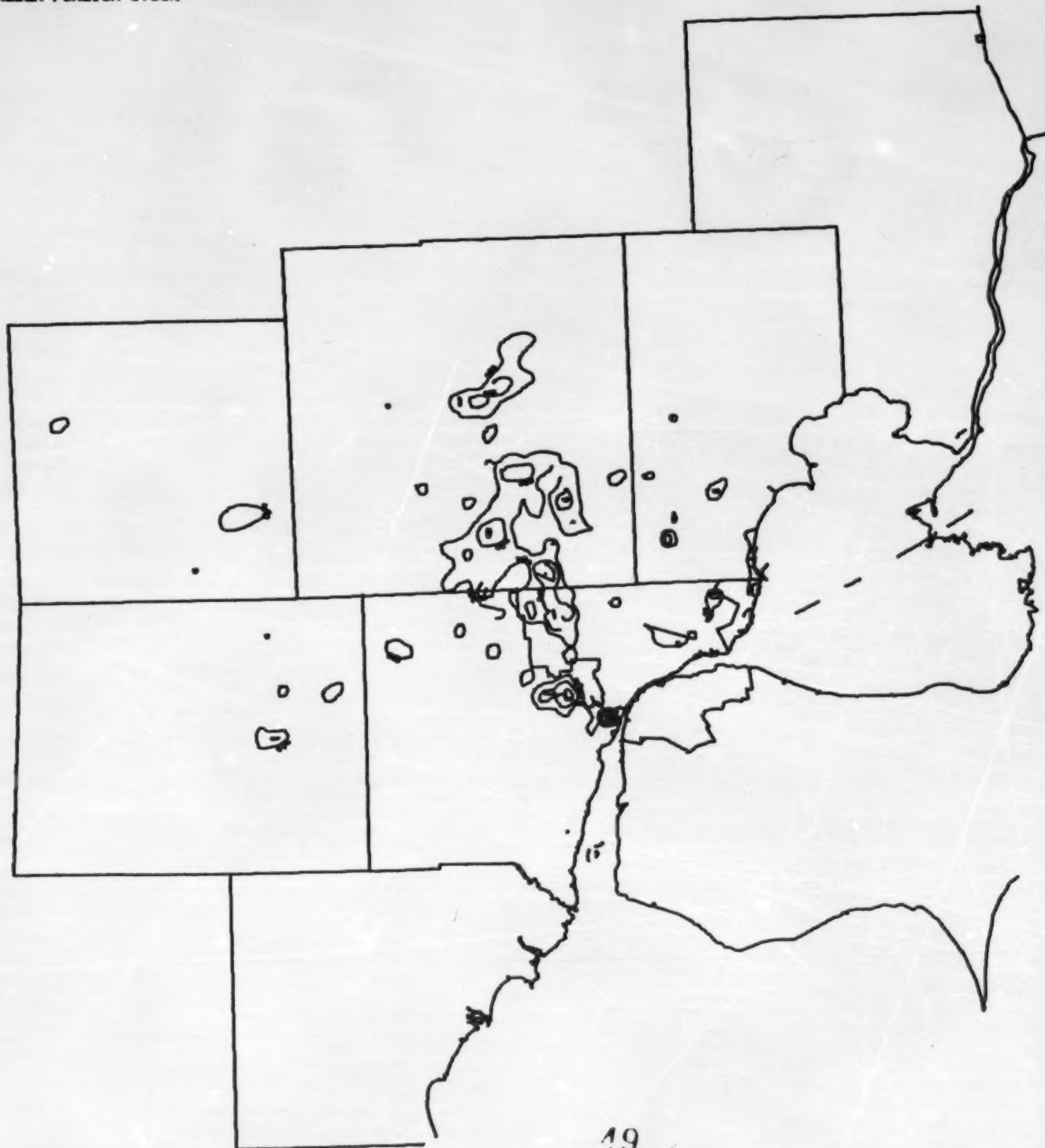
AFRICA FOREIGN STOCK



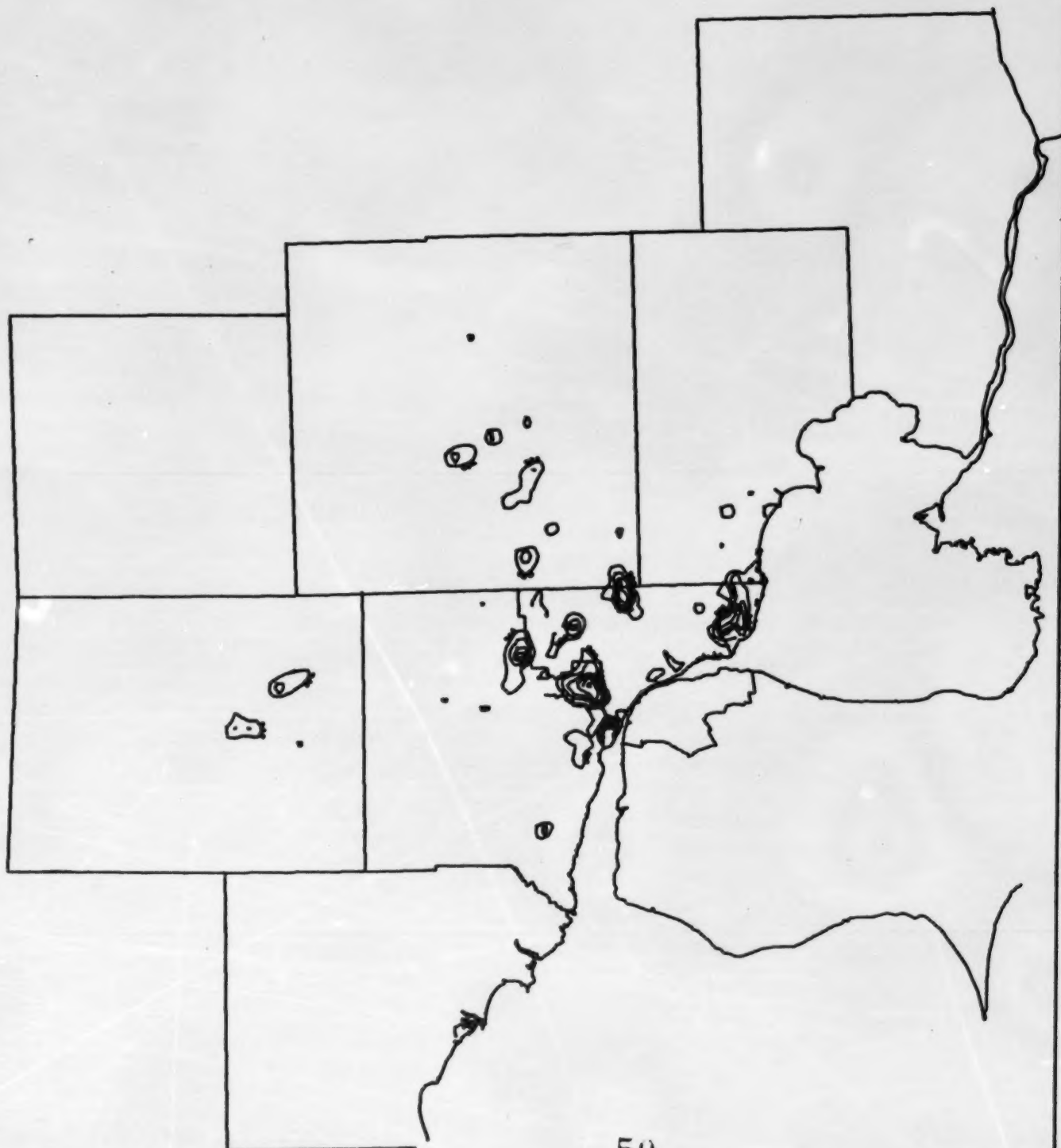
LITHUANIA FOREIGN STOCK



SWEDEN FOREIGN STOCK



GREECE FOREIGN STOCK



ITALIAN MOTHER TONGUE (TOTAL)

